

# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 921

February 19, 1954

FOURPENCE (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)

Sir JOHN SLESSOR

and

"HUMANE" BOMBING

By Sybil Morrison

Page six

## U.S. bases in Britain

EMRYS HUGHES, MP  
replies to a challenge from the  
NEWS CHRONICLE

To the Editor of the News Chronicle  
Dear Sir,

I am a regular reader of the News Chronicle, having been under the impression that it was more liberal than the Daily Herald, less conservative than the Daily Mail, and not quite so irresponsible as the Daily Express.

But after your leading article of last week and the way you have treated my replies, I am, no doubt, like many of your readers, wondering what has happened to the News Chronicle.

### In greater danger

Last week when Mr. Driberg put a question in the House about the American air bases in this country I asked if the Prime Minister still held the opinion that this country was in greater danger as a result of the American bases being here.

The Prime Minister gave me a courteous and interesting answer in which he said that as a result of the American air bases being here, we would be in the first line in the event of an atom war, and went on to justify the Government's policy on the ground that our rearmament had resulted in an easing of international tension.

### Weak argument

The next day the News Chronicle devoted a leading article to my question entitled "Relax" and began its attack on me with the sentence:

"It is really very silly of Mr. Emrys Hughes to go on bleating about American bases in Britain."

Now I am used to interjectors and interjections in the House of Commons and I am not unduly sensitive to criticism. But on reading this introductory sentence I wondered whether I was reading the News Chronicle.

Was this piece of childish offensiveness introduced because the writer was conscious of the weakness of the argument that was to follow?

Your editorial backed up Sir Winston, said it was good to hear Mr. Shinwell backing him up, and talked about how the American bases had brought us greater security and also brought up the secondary arguments in favour of their presence here. For they had brought us "£42,000,000 worth of badly needed dollars every year, and provided a living link between the English speaking peoples, and helped to get us acquainted."

I sent you a letter in reply. In view of the

● on back page

## Ban on Peace News raises local storm

"AN INTOLERABLE ACT" — Councillor

PEACE NEWS was one of 19 donated journals considered by the Library Committee of Bromley, Kent, to be not of general interest and henceforth to be excluded from the reading room.

The decision was discussed at a meeting of Bromley Town Council when Councillor J. C. Clayton said that there were 31 journals for display at the moment, the number was to be reduced to 12. Of those twelve, two were propaganda organs of the local Conservative Party and one a propaganda organ of a movement with which one member of the Books Sub-Committee was closely associated, and one a magazine with which another member of the Sub-Committee was connected. There was only one way to deal with the situation, he said, "You must either refuse all journals, or you must accept them all."

### Their faith in non-violence

Councillor Clayton continued that Peace News was sponsored for display in Bromley by a body of Christians who, he understood, were mostly Quakers, interpreting their faith in terms of non-violence and opposition to war.

The Committee had always made a point of making the display a well-balanced one, but he thought the only book where the views put in Peace News were to any extent enunciated was perhaps the Bible. "I feel that to take it out is an intolerable act," he said.

Opposing Councillor Clayton's view, Alderman W. D. Gibbs interjected, "I oppose anything in the way of pacifism or Communism in the library. Let us keep our heads."

The attempt to have Peace News restored to the library was defeated.

Since the voting there have been several

## AFTER BERLIN: COLOMBO IS NEW HOPE FOR WORLD PEACE

WITH the failure of Berlin to provide promise of peace, Colombo, capital of Ceylon, becomes the focus of world hope.

For there, next April, will be held a conference of Asian Prime Ministers to discuss the future of their countries in relation to the cold war.

It is understood that a certain urgency attaches to the conference in view of the disquiet felt over the US-Pakistan Pact. Nevertheless Pakistan herself, in the person of Premier Mohammed Ali, will attend. Prime Minister Nehru, of India, Sir John Kotelawala, of Ceylon, Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, of Indonesia, and Mr. Thakin Nu, of Burma, are also expected to be present.

### "PEACE AREA"

In a public speech last week Mr. Nehru said that the US-Pakistan Pact represented a return of the Western Powers to Asia.

This was perhaps good in that it was "a challenge to us that can at least wake us up from our composure and complacency. In the final analysis, armed might against my country provides my country with unity and discipline and fearlessness," he said.

"We can face anything; we can face the whole world at arms if we are disciplined and united."

Writing of the forthcoming "Peace Area" conference, the Free Press Journal of India comments, "In a military sense the combined strength of nations which will be meeting in Colombo will be negligible. And rightly enough the 'no-war' area is not to be tied up with any programme for a military alliance."

From Egyptian spokesmen also has come evidence of their country's interest.

### ARAB-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

Mr. Sardar Panikkar, the Indian Ambassador to Egypt, said that there was some discussion about a conference of top-level authorities of Arab-Asian countries. Egypt had been "continuously and effectively neutral," Mr. Panikkar said. She was neutral in the Korean issue from the beginning.

Dr. Mahmoud Azmi, a member of the Egyptian Press Delegation and former chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights, hailing the peace area policy in a broadcast from All-India Radio said:

"I am one of the strongest admirers of Mr. Nehru's policy concerning the independent position of India and the creation of a peace area in Asia and in Africa which can eliminate dangers of war in both our countries and the areas surrounding them."

Dr. Azmi said that this idea was current in Egyptian and other Arabic newspapers.

Commenting on the Egyptian attitude and Premier Neguib's protest over the acceptance of US military aid by Pakistan, a leading Indian newspaper, The Hindu, wrote:

"Neutrality is natural in nations which have emerged from colonial or semi-colonial rule and are zealous in the pursuit of an independent policy in world affairs. Arab-Asian solidarity in the United Nations is to

be looked upon not only as co-operation on specific issues: it is developing into a third bloc whose main object is to remain detached from power bloc rivalries and thus keep off war from their regions."

In Europe and America the idea of an ideological peace area is also catching on.

### A NEUTRAL GERMANY

In Germany Herr Ollenhauer, leader of the Social Democratic Party said that the solution to the problem of Germany's future behaviour was to let her join the United Nations.

The West should be prepared to abandon the idea of incorporating Germany in the European Defence Community and the East should consent to the holding of free elections.

Judging from the current feeling in Germany in favour of neutrality it is more than likely that in an unfettered and unsponsored election the neutralist parties would win.

Peace News has already reported (Behind the News, February 5), two leading German statesmen as pleading for the decentralisation of power in Germany.

They represent a trend among European democrats towards a policy of disengagement from the cold war which is becoming increasingly noticeable in France and Scandinavia as well.

### DEVELOPING THIRD CAMP

In the United States the attempt to define a policy in line with the revolutionary developments in Asia and Africa has been undertaken by a grouping of pacifists and socialists called "The Third Camp."

Prominent in the advocacy of a non-Capitalist, non-Communist, peace-based movement is Mr. A. J. Muste, Secretary-Emeritus, of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The idea of the Third Camp is considered of such significance that it is to form the theme of the Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International in Europe this year.

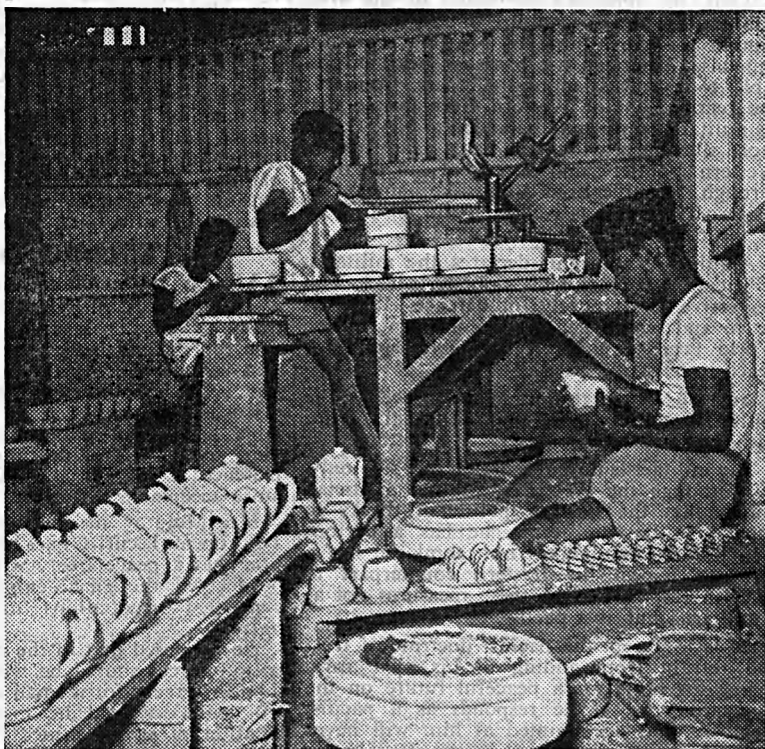
### Labour MPs told "withdraw"

THIRTEEN Labour MPs in Britain, supported by eleven others, have tabled a motion on Germany which reads:

"That this House welcomes the efforts being made by Herr Ollenhauer, on behalf of the German Social Democratic Party, to promote an agreed solution of the German problem on a basis of free elections coupled with the renunciation by Germany of participation in the European Defence Community, and urges Her Majesty's Government to take the initiative at the Berlin conference in proposing a settlement on those lines, but confirmed by an agreement between the Four Powers not to enter into any military alliance with Germany."

The Parliamentary Labour Party has since requested that the motion be withdrawn.

## SELF-RELIANCE FOR INDONESIA



The pottery industry is a key industry in Indonesia, but until recently this country had to import quality ceramics for dinnerware. These imports have dropped, however, now that Indonesians have learned to produce similar quality wares, but lower in price than the foreign product. This was made possible by the co-operation of United Nations technical assistance. These men are at work in the village of Plered.

Last week their Foreign Minister made a statement in which he reaffirmed the neutrality of Indonesia in the cold war and declared friendship with the other "third area" states of Asia—India, Burma, Ceylon and Siam.

—Unations

## STRIKING AFRICANS DEPORTED IN CENTRAL AFRICA

From our correspondent in Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia.

THE great strike of African workers at Wankie coalmine in Central Africa has shocked Europeans there into an awareness of the situation in which they live.

Troops, armour and police were sent to the area after 9,000 men struck work. Meetings of more than three Africans were banned. African members of the Bulawayo Inter-Racial Club could not foregather. When the strike was officially reported over, nearly a thousand miners were still refusing to return to work. They were deported forcibly to Northern Rhodesia in special trains.

The African miners at Wankie have no trade union and there is no negotiating machinery. The immediate reaction of the Government was to declare the strike illegal and to introduce emergency measures.

### European union's gesture

Appeals went out to European mine workers in the territory to volunteer to keep the vital Wankie mines going. In the midst of the general panic the Southern Rhodesian Government was rudely shaken by the refusal of the European Mine Workers' Union of Northern Rhodesia to send men to break the strike.

White volunteers who did go from Shabani and other mines were paid £3 per day. On their way home police were required to accompany them as most of them were so drunk that they were behaving in a disorderly manner and some had to be locked in their train compartments.

There is now a general consciousness of the economic power of the African in Central and Southern Africa. But the character of the response from the Government of S. Rhodesia is indicated by the statement of the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. P. B. Fletcher, who has announced that legislation to regulate the conduct of African workers' organisations will be introduced at the first sitting of the new Territorial Parliament.

Mr. Charles Mzingeli, general secretary of the unrecognised Reformed Industrial and Commercial African Workers' Union said at a meeting in Harare.

"We do not want to react in any way which will disturb the peace of the country, but let us unite and press our demands by legitimate methods."

He said that Africans did not want to negotiate with the Native Labour Board, a Government body, but directly with their employers on proper trade union lines.

\* On back page

## GAVE A MILLION DOLLARS FOR PEACE

MRS. ANITA McCORMICK BLAINE, the American philanthropist who made possible the establishment of the Foundation for World Government, died last week in Chicago at the age of 87.

For 50 years Mrs. Blaine had been devoting herself to the relief of suffering and the promotion of peace. It was in 1949 during the visit of Mr. Henry Osborne, British Member of Parliament and founder of the Crusade for World Government, that she made her famous gift of a million dollars (£357,000) to set up the Foundation for World Government. The Foundation aims to promote active peaceful relations between peoples and nations and to further education in world citizenship. The present director is Mr. Stringfellow Barr.

### Jet deaths

In the United Kingdom during 1953 there were 91 fatal accidents to Royal Air Force jet aircraft in which 112 persons lost their lives.



## PEACE NEWS

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### FAILURE AT BERLIN

**HOWEVER** much the militarist politician may deprecate pacifist convictions among his own compatriots every militarist is ready to judge the conduct of the fellow on the other side by pacifist standards.

Thus, the militarist politician of the West will endorse the expenditure of £26 billion per annum for the arming of NATO; scores of immense American air bases as near as possible to the Russian and Chinese frontiers; the rearmament of Western Germany so that its military power may be added to NATO and more sites be provided for bases near Russia's Western frontier; and also, if it can be done through reunification, the rearmament of Eastern Germany as well, and the pushing up of the bases still nearer to Russia.

All this is all right, declares the militarist politician. It threatens nobody. It is not aggressive. It is purely for defence. It means peace and would get the endorsement of the World Peace Council if that body stood for peace instead of "peace."

And of course it does mean peace as the militarist conceives it, the militaristic peace with the inverted commas.

The militarists do not exist on one side only, but although the Western militarist politician knows that the Eastern politician thinks in equally militaristic terms, he has a curious mental kink that makes him think he has a right to expect his Eastern counterpart to react in response to all these measures not as a militarist but as a pacifist.

He is to accept the pacifist doctrine of trust and refrain from adding to his own arms, basing his hope for a peaceful future on the conviction that if he responds as a pacifist the arms that are pointed at him will never be fired.

The militarist politician should realise that there is no chance at all of his opposite number on the other side reacting as a pacifist. He will react as a militarist; and he will agree to nothing that may weaken him in the face of his antagonist's military preparations.

It the lop-sided assumptions of the militarists existed on one side only there might be a chance of breaking them down when talks such as those at Berlin are undertaken. They exist, however, among the militarists on both sides.

★

At the end of the world war the Russian militarists assumed that they could maintain the level of Russia's armaments at a higher level than her erstwhile allies, and by that means strengthen her political power and add to her safety because those allies might now cease thinking as militarists and respond as pacifists. Like the Russian Government, however, they are not pacifists but militarists, and they responded as militarists, pouring out immense resources in arming the West.

So we arrived at the situation that had to be dealt with at the Berlin Conference, which has not only ended in failure, but increased the threat of a third world war—the world's first atomic war.

While Russian policy during the Stalin period was a major factor in bringing about a climate of fear, today it is the attitude of the West, under the leadership of the USA that is the greater menace to peace.

We find the wanton and deliberate blindness to the obvious facts displayed by the Press distressing and alarming.

A political correspondent in Peace News at the opening of the Berlin Conference expressed the hope that it might mark the end of the "diplomacy of failure" which aimed at the destruction of all possibility of compromise as a means of securing a public opinion that would back a policy of still more extensive arming.

There could hardly be a plainer and more cynical indication that this objective has been and remains the aim than the headings given to the report of the Sunday Times diplomatic correspondent on the failure to achieve any basis of agreement: "Berlin Failure Will Aid EDC: Way Now Clear for Early French Ratification"; and then in the text:

"By exposing the impossibility of a compromise between Russia and the West in Europe, it has opened the way for French ratification of the European Defence Treaty and the early completion of Western military integration.

Now the Conference has not exposed the impossibility of a compromise. All it has exposed is that no compromise has been reached.

It is possible that both sides may have been equally responsible for this. We do not know. It is possible that the Russians may have been unwilling to bargain on any terms on the subject of the German elections; what is absolutely obvious is that they cannot be expected to agree to any kind of bargain that provides for a united armed Germany embodied in the Western military system.

The Manchester Guardian remarks that "hopes were raised after the death of Stalin that Soviet foreign policy would change," but that now such hopes "are all but extinguished."

We believe that there have been profound changes in the Russian approach since the death of Stalin. What is obvious is that it

### Failure to negotiate

**THE** failure at Berlin seems to be due to the fact that each side promptly rejected the plans of the other.

There was no serious attempt by negotiation to find a compromise between the two conflicting points of view, and the Foreign Ministers passed on to the consideration of plans to relieve the tension in Europe on the supposition that Germany would remain divided, at any rate for the immediate future.

True the West made some concessions, notably the addition to Mr. Eden's plan of the words which cleared up an ambiguity and made it plain that the new German government could choose to reject or accept participation in the Western Defence Scheme.

But as we pointed out last week, that was not a concession in principle, and only served to emphasise the hopes of the West that an all-German government would bring a new army for NATO. That was hardly likely to commend the plan to Mr. Molotov.

A later suggestion was the prolongation of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 1942 from 20 to 50 years, but here again two questions arise.

Why first of all press for German rearmament, which Russia regards as an increased threat to her security, and then suggest a way of meeting Soviet fears? How much better not to add to the present tension. Moreover, if the Anglo-Soviet Treaty has not so far been of much use in preventing fears and reducing tension, why should its prolongation radically change the situation?

### Second bests

**WHEN** the conference apparently gave up any hope of agreement on uniting Germany and passed to a consideration of "second bests," the West did not present so specific a plan as did Mr. Molotov, but it is believed that not only have they discussed the situation in private, but that talks have been going on in Paris with a view to some modification of the European Defence Community which might make it more acceptable to France.

Mr. Molotov made detailed proposals for a European Security Pact based on the assumption that a peace treaty with Germany would be delayed, though he emphasised the need of continued negotiations to achieve German unity.

He proposed that in the meantime the occupation forces should be withdrawn within six months, except for a small contingent for control purposes, and he met the fear of the creation of strong armed forces in East and West under the guise of police, by proposing that the Four Powers should decide on the nature and strength of the German police, with the right of joint inspection in both zones.

That represented an important change since for the first time it opened up East Germany to Four Power inspection.

In regard to general security the Soviet scheme included a conference of all European States (including both East and West Germany) to draw up a collective security agreement to last for 50 years, based on mutual guarantees of non-aggression and plans for a permanent Peace Conciliation Commission to ensure the peaceful settlement of any dispute.

That would represent a regional security pact clearly within the terms of the UN Charter.

**I** CANNOT forego mentioning that it was none other than Defence Secretary (General Motors), Charles E. Wilson who told a press conference the other day that there was too much atom bomb rattling going on in the USA.

He even added that the Russians have been "a little careful" to play down the talk of atomic weapons and estimated that the atom-rattling was about 90 to 10 on our side!

There is some reason to suppose that he may have been hitting at Dulles' recent emphasis on retaliation with atomic weapons as our all but exclusive strategy.

### More confusion

However, it is not easy to determine what Mr. Wilson's remarks may have indicated, unless it be an additional instance of confusion in the Eisenhower cabinet. For he also stated, in reply to a question at the same press conference, as to whether the US was committed to atomic disarmament by its sponsorship of the Baruch proposals in the UN:

"I am not conscious that we have any commitments in the area you talk about."

When a reporter speculated as to what weapons would be used if war broke out again in Korea, Mr. Wilson said it would be hard to argue against the employment of tactical atomic weapons and trotted out the hoary philosophy:

"After all, war is war. It's not a game." But I want to turn to the Foreign Ministers' conference in Berlin for a moment.

The discussion of elections in Germany

is impossible to test whether those profound changes are likely to influence Russia's foreign policy while it is insisted that there shall be a rearmament Germany a few miles East of Russia—the spearhead of NATO's military policy—and scores of bases prepared for the atom-bombing of Russia are to be maintained all over the world.

A pacifist government in Russia would meet such a threat by making itself defenceless against it. We believe that such a policy might change the whole political climate in the world, saving us from war, and leading to profound and beneficial social changes.

Malenkov and his government are not pacifists, however, any more than was Stalin, and they are not in the least likely to accept a rearmament Germany integrated in the military structure of the West if they can do anything to prevent it.

The attitude of Churchill, Eisenhower or Dulles, were they in the place of Malenkov, would not be any different.

## BEHIND THE NEWS

ter, which it is at least doubtful that NATO is.

It was surprising and indeed significant that a plan which obviously involved many considerations and has wide implications, should have been summarily dismissed after a 35-minute adjournment.

The reason is not far to seek. The plan provided for a European Security System which did not include America.

### Austria

**THE** attempt to win something from the Conference by switching discussions to Austria was under the severe handicap that it is impossible to separate the German and Austrian issues.

As we said last week, the possibility of an Austrian Treaty depended in the last resort upon success in achieving an agreement about Germany.

While it is true that the Western Ministers tried to put themselves in a strong position by a willingness to accept the Soviet drafts of the few outstanding clauses, and regrettable that the Russians had changed their attitude to the withdrawal of the occupation troops, it is at least doubtful whether Foster Dulles would have been so ready to make concessions had he not known that Molotov would still insist on the retention of occupying forces pending a settlement about Germany.

The Russian view is at least understandable in the face of the increased number of American bases in Europe and of the Soviet need to maintain lines of communication so long as their forces are in East Germany but if all occupation troops were to be removed from Germany and if American bases no longer dominated the European scene the situation would be very different.

If the Western Powers really desire a peace treaty with Austria and the restoration of its freedom, they could show it by helping to remove the cause for Soviet troops there and by putting Austrian interests before their own.

### The future?

**AS** we write nothing seems certain except that the Foreign Ministers will have left Berlin on Thursday with little, if anything, to show for their month's discussions.

It will not be easy to bring them together again in the near future and some fresh plan will have to be adopted to keep open the method of negotiation.

A Five Power conference might achieve this, or a top level meeting between Churchill, Eisenhower and Malenkov for a private discussion which would take into consideration the experiences of Berlin and seek a way to end the deadlock.

### Those U.S. air bases

Originally it was agreed that the British and USA Governments should share equally the maintenance costs of American air bases in Britain, but American demands have led to a considerable increase in the size of the main-

tenance programme. Though a readjustment has been made which reduces the British share to 40 per cent. of the total, its payments are still larger than the original total contemplated. The cost of maintaining the 19 bases here, apart from some labour charges and the value of the sites and other facilities, is £120 millions. The USA pay £98 million in cash and provide £8 million worth of labour: Britain provides £22 million in cash and £74 million worth of facilities, plus the yearly value of the land and the use of 400 miles of pipeline built during the war at a cost of £28 million.

In Spain four air bases are to be constructed and a 540 mile pipeline from the air fields to the US naval base at Cadiz plus 6 ammunition and fuel depots. The cost is estimated at £200 million.

The State Department are still trying to allay the fears aroused by the statement that the bases would be limited to peacetime use. Obviously they have no potential use apart from their use in war unless their existence is regarded as a threat, which signatories of the UN Charter have promised not to use. Their use in war depends on the assent of the Spanish Government, which means that Franco will have a controlling interest in another war for freedom and democracy!

### Britain, please note

**THE** Madrid newspaper "ABC" comments: "Spain reserves the right in each concrete case to fix in agreement with the United States the conditions for the use of these bases in case of war."

It was this that Mr. Talbot, Secretary of the US Air Force, had in mind when he said, "There are certain agreements on the use of bases, but when the balloon goes up we are going right in"; so whatever agreements there may be limiting the use of the bases, Spain has received good notice of the value to be attached to them.

If the "ABC" is to be believed, however, Spain has received more considerable undertakings on this point, for what they are worth, than has Britain, for it claims that, "No other nation has obtained from the United States such full recognition of its sovereignty concerning strategic points in common."

### Malta too

**A** MERICAN forces have been stationed on the island of Malta as part of the NATO dispositions without any kind of prior consent from the Maltese Government. No such consent was sought.

The arrangement was agreed to by the British Government with the American NATO authorities over the heads of the Maltese.

When in October Dr. Borg Olivier, the Prime Minister of Malta, moved a motion objecting to the British decision he was met with an amendment from the Opposition censuring him for permitting an earlier force of American soldiers to train on the Island without obtaining the consent of the Assembly.

In this respect, however, the Maltese people are no further away from self-government than are the British people, for the electors of Britain have never been consulted on the installation of 30 American airfields on their land, an acceptance of the possibility of Britain being used as a base for the atom-bombing of Russia, and the establishment of a force of 38,000 US servicemen and their families.

## German elections and power politics

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provided one of the most vivid illustrations of the difference between the ostensible and the real issue when representatives of big powers get together to negotiate. Dulles—Eden—Bidault, proposed "free elections" in which citizens of both East and West Germany would participate under supervision of the four occupying powers. In this way a provisional Government would come into being to enter into a treaty of peace and carry on from there.

This sounds altogether sensible and fair to the peoples of the West and there is reason to think that it is what the great majority of Germans at the moment favour.

Molotov, on his part, rejected this notion of having foreign powers, so long after the end of the war, run a German election. What was "democratic" or "free" about that? Let the present East and West Governments get together, and set up some provisional govern-

### LETTER FROM U.S.A.

By A. J. Muste

mental machinery, including machinery for conducting elections.

On the face of it, this also sounds sensible and fair, and a pretty debate centering on the mechanics rather than the dynamics of politics could be staged if the debate took the respective proposals at face value.

This Mr. Molotov, true to his Marxist training, declined to do. "One must not pay one sided attention," he warned, "to Parliamentary formalities and the technical organisation of this matter."

Then he looked at Mr. Dulles, who has been calling Molotov's attention to some unpleasant historical events such as the Hitler-Stalin pact, and laid before him another unsavoury bit of history.

"The Nazis," said he, "found not a few supporters and followers of their cause who made the way free for their seizure of power." He was alluding to such figures as von Papen, politically in about the same camp in the Thirties as a good many of Adenauer's supporters now.

The Nazi seizure of power, Molotov continued, took place "under observation of Parliamentary rules, under formal observation of the German constitution, and this despite the fact that the Nazis commanded only 32 per cent. of the votes of all deputies in the Reichstag."

The main objective in discussing re-unification and all-German elections should be, he concluded, to prevent the return of Fascism, "the Fascist monster," to a "dominating

position in the central organs of a unified Germany, including the use of Parliamentary procedure."

Then, with astonishing frankness, he proposed that in addition to "democratic and peace loving" parties, there should be "wide participation of democratic organisations"—by which Communist spokesmen mean unions, peace societies, etc., following the correct line—in the elections. On the other hand, the elections should be conducted in such a way as "would preclude pressure upon voters by big monopolies."

Under this provision, Adenauer's own Party might conceivably be excluded from participation in the election, since no one would contend that it is not under some pressure by "big monopolies."

Molotov, in other words, is saying that his objective is an anti-Fascist, i.e., in his book, pro-Communist, pro-Eastern, if not Communist, Government and social regime in Germany. Dulles was pretty effective in a debating sense in meeting Molotov's proposals. He could point out that Molotov wanted the Foreign Ministers to trust the Germans to organise free elections and then dilated upon the undemocratic elements in Germany and how free elections were delusion and snare.

### The real objective

But what is the real objective of Dulles—Eden—Bidault? Would they be arguing for free elections after their design if they were certain that the outcome would be to put the Communists in power in Germany or even give them a substantial entering wedge into the Government?

Did the US not spend considerable money and exert a lot of pressure in 1948 in Italy to ensure that free elections would result in defeating Communists and Socialists? Has not money been spent and pressure exerted in Germany indeed to the same end?

What has been the object of the NATO build-up and of EDC and the effort to include Germany in the European Army?

The aim of the Western powers, and especially the US, is an anti-Communist, pro-Western, capitalistic regime in Germany. They virtually admit that there is a risk, even with Parliamentary procedures, that Fascism may return. This to them, as was the case after World War I, is the lesser evil.

I do not conclude from this that "concessions" should be made to Molotov. The people have to insist that this whole power game and war must be abandoned. Until they do, such conferences as Berlin will register the power relationships of the moment, not create "solutions" leading to freedom and peace.



## YOUR WORLD LAST WEEK

**BRITAIN:** Twelve Labour MPs have tabled a motion asking the Government "to stop bombing Africans in the Commonwealth." By December 31, 1953, 347,214 recruits had joined the Civil Defence Corps, of whom 44,808 had left.

**EGYPT:** Major Saleh Salem, Minister of National Guidance, defined Egyptian "neutrality" by saying that Egypt would co-operate with all states on either side of the Iron Curtain which supported her particular aims, but would co-operate with none which withheld freedom and dignity from Egypt. Egypt's attitude to any state would reciprocate that state's support, political and economic, for Egypt.

**GERMANY:** The legal representatives of Dr. Adenauer withdrew an allegation he made during last year's election that two Social Democrats had received money for the campaigns from the Soviet Zone. The information on which it was made had been shown to be false.

As an alternative to EDC, Herr Ollenhauer, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, proposed last week that Germany should be allowed to join the United Nations. Russia should agree to free elections in return for the West shelving the European Defence Community treaty.

**UNITED NATIONS:** Next year's World Health Assembly is to be held in Mexico City. The first international conference ever to discuss the control of avalanches will be held in Switzerland this summer under the sponsorship of the Food and Agricultural Organisation. Extensive tree planting and engineering works are among the suggestions to be considered.

The UN Students Internship Programme offers an opportunity to a limited number of students to study the UN and Specialised Agencies by being attached, for about eight weeks, to posts in the UN Secretariat. Details of eligibility and applications can be obtained from UN Information Centres.

**NIGERIA:** The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Bryan Sharwood Smith, announced a £79 million development plan for Northern Nigeria for 1955-60. He said the money would be raised from local sources, the Colonial Development Welfare Fund, and from external sources.

**KENYA:** A serious split between the European Elected Members' Organisation and the Electors' Union is reported. Disagreement seems to have arisen over an unofficial report that some of the settlers' leaders are negotiating for a new all-racial Executive Council. This is strongly opposed by the constituency bodies of the Electors' Union.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** The South Africa Trust Fund has withdrawn its financial support of the United Party, opposition party in the SA Parliament. The Fund is supported by some of the biggest financial concerns in the Union. This is taken to suggest a possibility of compromise between big business and the Nationalist Government.

### Valentines



I WRITE on St. Valentine's Eve and it seems strange that this anniversary should have achieved a recognition accorded to very few others in the Christian calendar. Very many know that February 14 is Valentine's Day, while very few could give off hand the date of the festival, say, of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew or St. David.

Valentine was a third century Christian martyr about whom much less is known than the others mentioned. Nor is the traditional way of marking his day associated with the manner of his death or any event in his life.

It would seem to be due to the fact that birds are supposed to mate round about February 14, and therefore St. Valentine's Day became an occasion when lovers of both sexes and all ages might send some token of affection to their beloved.

If the modern Valentine is more often satirical than serious, the day remains popular because it came to be associated with what is a natural and proper desire of the human heart.

When we are fond of a person we do delight to take opportunities and find ways of expressing it, and to make sacrifices to do so.

All of which leads me to suggest that the same should apply to keenness about a cause.

Many of us would profess that pacifism is our "first love," because we realise its fundamental importance in all relationships, but it is easier to take the pacifist cause for granted than to give it that first loyalty which it demands if our minority is to achieve a success similar to those won by other minorities in the past.

So, although February 14, 1954, will have passed before you read this, why not let the reminder of it provide you with a special opportunity to show your keenness about the Peace Pledge Union and send a Valentine to the PPU Headquarters Fund?

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1954 ... £1,000  
Monthly average, say ... £84  
Amount received in first month ... £38

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## THE 1954 ALEX WOOD MEMORIAL LECTURE

# There is a new awareness of the right to live

—Prof. Lonsdale, F.R.S

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

"It does no good to reach a point where we would be able to wipe out an enemy twenty times over, if he reaches the point where he can wipe us out just once."

These words of Mr. Gordon Dean, the retiring chairman of the US Atomic Energy Commission (Times, June 27, 1953), were quoted by Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, in the Alex Wood Memorial Lecture 1954 entitled, "Security and Responsibility."

The lecture, which Professor Lonsdale delivered in Regent's Park College, Oxford, on Wednesday, exposed the state of insecurity shared by all nations relying on force in the atomic age.

As a scientist, Professor Lonsdale explained, she was "particularly interested in the part the scientist can or should play in promoting human happiness, of which a sense of security is a part."

Speaking of that unstable equilibrium which exists when two nations, or blocks of nations, remain economically strong enough to pile up weapons without social collapse, she continued:

"Both great powers in this case may be afraid to start an all-out war, for fear of retaliation; but neither can be quite sure that the other will not. It is a war of nerves. Neither side can be quite sure that the other, through the ingenuity of its scientists, may not develop some really winning weapon and use it to end an intolerable situation."

"Fear, suspicion and hatred express themselves through a 'cold war.' Each side tries to weaken the other by infiltration, by the encouragement of internal dissension, by secret agents who promote sabotage, confuse policy and enlist spies."

This deceitfulness was a canker in a community. It was also, she pointed out, a canker in science; for science depended upon its precious heritage of freely published work.

### Hiding the truth

"Most scientists would regard it as wholly unethical that they should twist the truth in order to serve the interests of one particular party, ideology or section of industry. Yet they cannot recognise that it is equally wrong to hide the truth with the intention of deceiving. Deceit and secrecy are reverse sides of the same medal, and those who justify the one have no grounds for condemning the other."

This harmful withholding of knowledge, she continued, was seen during the second world war, when the publication of research on penicillin was restricted lest the enemy should use it for his own wounded: an action which emphasised the inhuman and un-Christian nature of war as a whole.

The scientist, she admitted, must on account of his greater power accept a large measure of responsibility, but the ordinary citizens of all belligerent countries, who have given to their Governments unlimited authority, and who are content that secret scientific research shall be carried on at their expense, are not absolved:

"The fact is that as long as ordinary men put their trust in weapons of war, so long as they forget their common humanity and suppose that peace can only be maintained by abuse, by bluster and by threats, as long as they shut their eyes to the needs of millions of the under-nourished, illiterate, diseased and miserable, and think only of their own prestige, their own well-being, their own security, or even their own family, their own nation alone; as long as they suppose that justice can be remedied or ideals preserved by mass genocide, that aggression can be prevented or halted by the use of weapons, which kill and maim not only the guilty and innocent alike, but even the unborn children of the future, so long will they find the scientists who will do their bidding. But they will not find security."

However, Professor Lonsdale saw many signs of a new awareness. The responsible use of science had minimised many "natural dangers."

In Switzerland the average infant mortality had fallen from 128.6 per thousand in 1900 to 30.7 in 1950; Ceylon from 190.0 to 81.4 in the same period.

"The right to live is one of those listed in the Declaration of Human Rights, and it is a sign of the increasing social conscience that security of person, social security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability or old age is regarded as the right of all men, irrespective of colour or nationality."

### First step to a happier world

As a first step toward a better and happier world Professor Lonsdale suggested that those irked by the wastage of time under National Service should be brought under the umbrella of a World Development Authority or a World Food Board to play their part in international work camps, building, forestry, harvesting, flood-damage reconstruction or post war relief-work.

In place of the selfish squandering of the world's resources in the name of security, travel-work opportunities should be organised on a large scale, and the youth of today assisted in combatting the poverty, ill health, ignorance and degradation to be found in many parts of the world.

She paid tribute to the Society for Social Responsibility in Science for their initiative in this field.

Yet social security, she concluded was not enough.

"Christian fellowship means more than refrigerators and bathrooms for all."

"All forms of material security are transitory and uncertain. There is a security that cannot be taken away because it is rooted in the love of God. If this were shared, it would transform men's lives and in so doing I believe it would also transform the social and international situation."

## PEACE PROJECT



So far has the work-camp movement advanced in recent years that it is now recognised as a vital contribution to the work of UNESCO. In India, Holland, Switzerland, Mexico and other lands it has received the compliments and assistance of national governments. The combination of the work-camp idea with projects in fundamental education could work a revolution in the poverty-burdened areas of the world and help to win them to the camp of peace. This picture shows the erection of an institute for the training of Indian technicians at Faridabad, near Delhi. It was part of a scheme for resettling refugees in which work-camp volunteers participated.

## Work campers will be there again this year

WORK-CAMPERS got down to it last year everywhere from Korea to The Cameroons.

UNESCO's report on 1953 lists 35 countries where work camps were organised. 49 national and international organisations are now members of the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps, part of the Youth Section of UNESCO.

What did they do, the youngsters who took off during holidays or training months to attend a work camp?

Remember Greece, Cyprus, Austria? After the sailors and soldiers, the Red Cross workers and the rescue teams had withdrawn from the scenes of earthquake and avalanche, the great problem of tidying up and rebuilding remained. Without money, often without jobs, the people of those areas had to set about the task of putting their houses up again, literally by hand. Work-campers were there to help with their hands and encourage with their spirit.

Less spectacular but equally rewarding was the work done in such places as Algeria, amongst the slum-dwellers, the construction of a dispensary and hostel at a leprosy centre in India, literacy training in Cuba. Co-operation between work-campers and UNESCO Fundamental Education teams has been so successful that possibilities of extending this are shortly to be discussed.

Leading British Work-Camp organisations announce their 1954 skeleton programmes as follows:

**FRIENDS WORK CAMPS COMMITTEE**  
Senior projects: July 3—August 2; August 7—September 6  
Junior projects: July 31—August 23; August 27—30.  
Two-week camp: July 31—August 14.  
Full details from Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

### INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE FOR PEACE

Work camps will be organised at Easter, during the summer period until late autumn, and at Christmas. Details of these camps in Britain will be published in IVSP quarterly Bulletin, copies of which will be sent on request. Arrangements are made whereby British volunteers may serve in work camps abroad, organised by branches of Le Service Civil International. The London hostel of IVSP, 19 Pembroke Villas, W.11, is available for British and foreign volunteers travelling to and from camps, or staying in London.

**CAMPS IN THE USA**  
For information on the wide variety of work camps to be organised in the US during 1954, requests should be addressed to: The Commission on Youth Service Projects, 79 East Adams St., Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

**WORK CAMPS ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD**  
For general and particular information on the work camp movement and its projects, write to: The Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps, c/o Youth Section, UNESCO, 19 Avenue Kleber, Paris, 16e.

## 86 DEFY WITCH HUNT

ANNOUNCING that they will speak freely, associate as they see fit, publish and otherwise teach or advocate any ideas or political or economic changes which they deem advisable, 86 American men and women in 16 states made public last week a statement of their intention to refuse to appear, if summoned, before the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities or any similar official or unofficial body.

The statement was released to the Press by the Peacemakers, American pacifist group, who state, however, that anyone taking this stand is invited to sign the statement, and the signers are not limited to members of the Peacemakers movement.

Literature circulated by the "non-co-operating" group urges others to join in the movement to "end the inquisition" and proposes a system of mutual aid to assist any individuals who refuse to honour a summons.

The position taken by the signers of the present statement is similar to that advocated by Professor Albert Einstein, famous physicist, who publicly advised a college teacher to refuse to testify before the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities.

## FBI sends armed man to question pacifist!

DOROTHY DAY writing in her monthly column in the US catholic Worker describes a visit from the FBI to the Peter Maurin Community Farm:

"Some FBI man by the name of Daly came down to query me about one of our friends who is a conscientious objector. He asked the usual questions as to how long I had known him, how he stated his position as CO or pacifist, whether or not he believed in defending himself."

"Evidently one of my answers offended him because he pulled back his jacket and displayed the holster of a gun under his arm pit which he patted bravely as he said, 'I believe in defending myself!' I could not but think, 'how brave a man defending himself with his gun against us unarmed women and children hereabouts.' The FBI should train their men to be a little more impersonal."

### Death of Australian pacifist leader

WE regret to report the death of J. L. S. Treloar, of Adelaide, who was a moving spirit in the foundation of the pacifist movement in South Australia.

A soldier who served in France in World War I he became a pacifist after the war, and in 1936 he was instrumental in forming the Anti-war Christian Fellowship, which in 1938 united with other pacifist groups to form the South Australian branch of the Peace Pledge Union.

A lawyer, Mr. Treloar devoted his energies in World War II to the service of conscientious objectors, acting on behalf of some 200. He encountered intense antagonism as a result of his activities during the war and the cheerful and courageous way in which he faced difficulties was in inspiration to those associated with him.

Jean Russell, who sends news of his death, says that it was owing to the activities of Mr. Treloar that Peace News became widely read in Australia before the war. During the war its importation was forbidden and the earlier circulation was never fully recovered.

### French writer seeks translator

A French woman, Odette Marty, is seeking a translator for her book on social and military servitude entitled, "The Right to Live." Royalties are assured on an English version. Interested readers should write direct to: Mlle. Odette Marty, 13 Rue Georges, Gennevilliers (Seine), France.

### Make friends abroad

ITT's low cost tours and centres are planned specially to help you get know the folk among whom you travel abroad. Stamp please for 1954 programmes

### INTERNATIONAL TRAMPING TOURS

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### GRASMERE

In the heart of the Lake District. Rothay Bank for invigorating, refreshing holidays, easy walks or mountain climbs. Modern amenities, first-class veg. diet. Open all the year round. Write: Isabel James Tel: 134

### The Yorkshire Moors

Readers of Peace News cordially invited to HOLLYBROOK GUEST HOUSE Queens Road Ilkley (Tel. 384) Reasonable terms, children welcomed, excellent centre, conferences, etc.

**COME NOW!** Enjoy a break with golden sunrises, loving care, comfort and plenty, storing health. Morningside, Tower Road West, St. Leonards-on-sea. Phone HASTINGS 3191

**DORSET.** Country holiday in lovely surroundings. One or two guests welcomed by Misses Thorne, "Lennon Heath", Pilsford, Wimborne. Every comfort. Home produce. Tel: 2440.

### Holland Festival of Arts (June 19-26)

Lugano (July 12-22) Norway (August 14-22) Vacancies semi-private parties. Rev Parkinson, 32, Windsor Road, Doncaster.



## THE USA AND WORLD ECONOMY. 1: End of the rearmament boom

By FRANCIS RONA, H.Sc (Econ)

AMERICA'S economic position has become a world problem. A decline in her production and spending will reduce the trade and income of all countries dependent on exports to the "Dollar Area."

President Eisenhower, in his "Economic Report to Congress" on January 28, tried to reassure the Americans that the "slight contraction in business is merely an inventory adjustment" and that "economic growth is likely to be resumed during 1954."

This "induced optimism" is reminiscent of Hoover's famous phrase, "prosperity is just round the corner," which was the prologue to the worst slump in the 1930's.

Historical analogies, however, are unreliable. The Stock Exchange crash in 1929 resulted in a general financial crisis and "bank holidays," whereas the end of the present "rearmament boom" affects primarily certain basic and metal-using industries.

Employment and output statistics will certainly be watched carefully by American economists anxious to forecast business trends.

The January "Survey of Current Business" (US Dept. of Commerce) shows that the number of registered unemployed increased from 1,162,000 in October 1953 to 1,850,000 in December. Sales of motor vehicles declined from 574,000 in September 1953 to 452,000 in November, that is, by 21 per cent.

The Federal Reserve Bulletin in December indicated a falling trend of industrial production. (p.1294). The index of manufactured durable goods fell from the 160 per cent peak (1947-49 average = 100 per cent.) in March 1953 to 153 per cent. in October.

It appears that the President's explanation of the recession by "inventory adjustments" (i.e. unsaleable stocks) overlooks several relevant factors such as;

1. Cancellation of military contracts;
2. Reduced spending on durable goods; and
3. Surplus stocks of farmers and declining agricultural exports.

The main factor which created the present economic disequilibrium was the huge armament expenditure, because it distorted the US productive system.

### HALF THE INCOME OF 1,560 MILLION PEOPLE—FOR "SECURITY"

Within four years, between 1948-1952, the US quadrupled its net military expenditure (see Table below), excluding debt service of previous wars, foreign "assistance," etc. It now absorbs over 14 per cent. of the national product.

The total Budget expenditure in 12 months (1945/55) is estimated at \$65,500 million, i.e., \$4,300 million less than in 1953/54. Originally \$77,900 million (£27,800 million) were recommended by ex-President Truman last year, but Congress reduced it to \$70,900 million. For pure military expenditure \$50,300 million were allocated in 1952/53, whereas the 1954/55 estimate is \$44,900 million (£16,040 million).

The money value of salaries and goods on account of military "Security" amounts to about half of the yearly income of 1,560 million people—two-thirds of mankind—living in Asia, Africa and South America. (See Table below.)

Of course, the variety of prices and exchange rates makes a precise comparison extremely difficult, but the undeniable fact

Gross National Product	91.3	233.3	348.0	369.0
in Current Dollars	...	...	...	...
in Constant (1939) \$	91.3	138.6	176.0	not av.
allocated to:				
Consumer's Expenditure	67.5	165.6	218.1	231.0
Gross Private Investment	9.9	30.2	52.5	56.5
Government:				
"Defence" and "Security"	1.3	13.3	49.0	52.1
Other Expend. (Fedor. & State)	11.7	15.3	28.6	31.5
Net Foreign Investment	0.9	8.9	-0.2	-2.1

\*Figures for third quarter adjusted to annual rates.  
SOURCE: US Statistical Abstract, 1952, p. 254, and "Survey of Current Business," November, 1953 (Washington).

remains that the US prefers to use the equivalent of half the national income of two-thirds of mankind in the service of a dubious "national security."

This type of security completely disregards Roosevelt's "Freedom from Want" and the most essential needs of the majority of the human race.

### REARMAMENT CAUSED INSTABILITY

America's "defence programme" distorted the structure of production and shifted millions of her workers to economically unproductive armament industries.

As Eisenhower's Budget Message, on January 21, states, "military planning had been based on several successive assumed dates of maximum military danger" (Our italics).

As the "assumptions" were wrong, the speedy "arms drive" was a mistake.

The problem is whether it can be corrected without causing a major economic relapse.

The "Seventh Quarterly Report" of the Director of "Defence Mobilisation" (October 1952, page 10) foresaw the delivery of military goods valued \$129,000 million (£45,720 million—equal to Britain's gross national income in four years), between 1951-53 inclusive. Over \$16,000 million were spent on new armament plants alone by mid-1953.

The US has to face the alternative of a continuation of this terrific waste of resources to "keep arms factories busy" or to carry out the necessary readjustments in the structure of production at the cost of "writing off" many thousands of million dollars and making three to four million unemployed.

Eisenhower's "anti-cyclical remedy" of tax reduction by \$4,900 million (average eight per

cent., total receipts \$62,700 million) cannot correct the basic disequilibrium. Private investment has already declined 10 per cent. in the third quarter of 1953 (second quarter \$61 million, third \$56.5 million, annual rates).

Much of the tax relief will remain unspent and "hoarded" if consumers expect a general fall in prices and businessmen find new investment risky and unprofitable.

Thus the likelihood of "economic growth in 1954" appears to be an unfounded hope, the more, as the alternative of either an "arms drive" or a return to a peace economy creates instability in the US economy.

QUOTED from: UN Statistical Papers, Series E, No. 3, p. 2 (available: Columbia Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, 27, USA, or HM Stationery Office, London, S.E.1. P.O. Box 569. (Price: 3s. : US 40 cents.)

REPERCUSSION ON WORLD TRADE  
At present the US imports—valued at \$11,700 million—amount to about one-sixth of the world's total.

Whereas imports tend to decline, American exports show a rising tendency, thus aggravating the dollar gap in other countries.

Moreover, the "Buy American Act, March 1933" prescribed that the US Government should buy domestic products in preference to foreign goods.

The import policy of the US aims at securing cheap raw material supplies from Colonial and "backward" areas and heavy duties are levied on manufactured goods to "protect" domestic industries. Farmers must be protected too, particularly now, as their "net income in 1953 has dropped 11 per cent. on 1952 and 20 per cent. on 1951" (Financial Times, November 27, 1953). The Administration's "price support programme" for farmers keeps agricultural prices high, thus reducing the

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## INDIANS IN AFRICA

By Reginald Reynolds

THE tension between Africans and Europeans in the greater part of Africa has naturally been the first concern of all who are interested in African affairs.

The word "Europeans" (as found on a public lavatory anywhere south of the Sudan or on a seat in a South African public park) is the equivalent of *Blankes* in Afrikaans: it includes Americans and all so-called "Whites."

This tension is referred to by Europeans as "the native problem." With more justification, Africans sometimes refer to "the white problem."

Second in importance to this tension is that which exists between European and Indian.

Where Indians are found, in East, Central and South Africa, they suffer from political and social disabilities, in spite of which many of them thrive economically, just as many Jews made money in some of the worst periods of persecution.

That is probably why so many Europeans in Africa, who vary from patronage to contempt in their attitude to Africans, reserve their real hatred for the Indian.

One of the few liberal-minded Englishmen whom I met in Kenya last year, after speaking with affection of the Kikuyu (which is not fashionable today) added:

"The only colour bar I want is one against the Indians—I can't stand them."

A survey made in Natal, about four years ago, after the riots between Indians and Africans at Durban, showed that a similar attitude was common there at the time. Many Europeans were quite pleased to see the "coons" going for the "coolies" and hoped the "coolies" (Indians) had the worst of it.

It was about that time that I became seriously interested in Indo-African tension.

Third in importance, this problem is nevertheless one that vitally affects the future of Africa from Kampala, in Buganda, to Cape Town.

On this front 1949 was a bad year. Apart from the Durban Riots the feeling up in Uganda was at its worst. The main issue between Africans and Indians there was the monopoly of the ginning mills by Indian and European capitalists; and the African farmers were seeking licenses to buy machinery of their own. They wanted to set up co-operative mills, but the Government at that time blocked the proposal.

I left for India at the end of 1949 and had a good opportunity to sound opinion there.

To my surprise I found that not only the Government, from Nehru downwards, was 100 per cent. pro-African, but that Indians generally felt the same way.

Nehru stated publicly, and has often repeated, that he would not support any Indian interest in Africa which conflicted with African interests.

An Indian in business told me that the only hope for his countrymen in Africa was to identify themselves with African aspirations. Almost everywhere this was the sort of response I had to my questions.

When I arrived in Kampala last April the Indo-African tension in Uganda had decreased but not disappeared. The Government had gone so far as to advance money for African farmers' co-operatives to buy two of the existing mills.

This was regarded with some scepticism, as all the ginning mills in Uganda had long since been criticised as antiquated.

Africans said that the price paid was too high and that the Indian and European owners would now buy new, up-to-date machinery.

Looking back I think that Indo-African relations in Uganda were still worse than in any territory which I subsequently visited.

Yet even here there had been some improvement, and my English hostess at Kampala drew my attention to the co-operative spirit shown by the three "races" in the sphere of education.

This was all the more interesting because the payment of teachers and employees of the Education Department is based upon racial discrimination. (I even met several British beneficiaries of this system who strongly objected to it.)

I had an opportunity to see something of this co-operative attitude by attending the annual Educational Conference at Kampala.

We met at an Indian girls' school, and I was told that the whole cost had been borne by Indian generosity, including the cost of bringing underpaid African teachers from all over the Protectorate.

### Signs of change in Kenya

This interest in the community as a whole is often found among Indians, who have been given little credit for it. In Nairobi a fine library, for Europeans only, receives a substantial grant from the Government. The Desai Hall, a public library and reading room built by Indians, is open to everybody. Those who use it are Africans, for the most part.

The Indian merchant community of Kenya is, superficially speaking, somewhat depressing. It is concerned only with its own demands and grievances. Yet even here there are signs of change.

I met many Indians—lawyers and business men—who were deeply concerned about the treatment of Africans. A Kikuyu "suspect" (and almost all Kikuyu are "suspect" in European eyes) who cannot find work with Europeans has always a hope of finding a sympathetic Indian who will employ him.

But perhaps the most interesting aspect of the problem in Kenya is the effort of the Indian Government, through the High Commissioner's office, to improve Indo-African relations. It is not an easy job, and the recent High Commissioner (A. B. Pant), whose term of office has now expired was frequently criticised by his own countrymen. But Nehru's prestige is very high among Indians throughout Africa; and Nehru's representative cannot be ignored—especially if he is a man of such personal charm as A. B. Pant.

The Indian communities of Northern and Southern Rhodesia are so small (about 200 to 300 in a large town) that they might be excused a certain timidity.

In view of this I found it surprising that so many leading Indians there were on excellent terms with African political and trade union leaders.

One thing which I had already noticed was the interest which Africans often show in the life and work of Gandhi. The Tanganyika Chief, Kidaha (the only African on the Royal Commission on Land and Population in East Africa), had spent most of the four hours I had with him in asking me about Gandhi.

Here, in Central Africa, I frequently saw Africans wearing buttons with Gandhi's profile. The Indian influence was directed not only towards a "common front," but towards a technique that might save Africa from bloodshed. Indian Government scholarships for Africans to study in India were also being supplemented by the small Indian communities.

### Malan did it

But it is in the Union of South Africa that the greatest changes have taken place.

"Malan's great gift to mankind," said a European radical, "is non-European unity."

An Indian put it differently: "The Durban riots were a shock to us, and we had to do something about it all." There was evidently complete unity between the African Congress and its Indian counterpart.

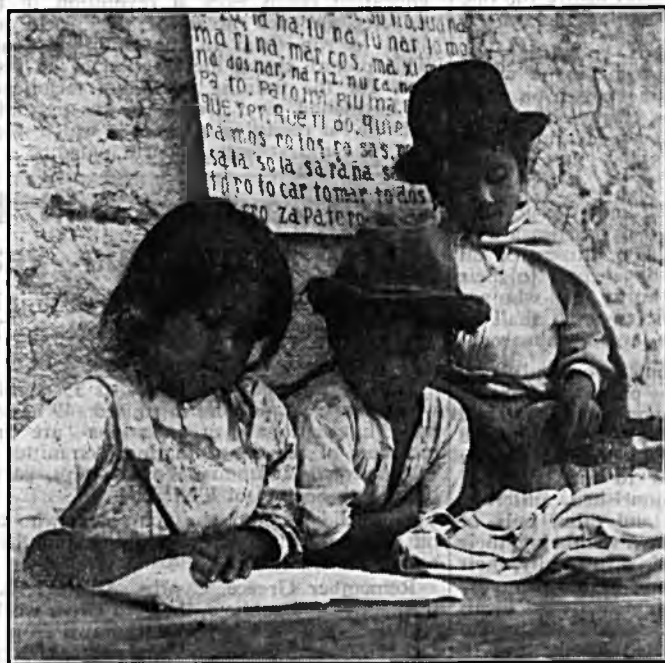
One thing that facilitates this unity is the class composition of the Indian population in South Africa. Probably only about 10 to 15 per cent. of the Indians there are in any sense capitalists. The great majority are workers whose standard of living does not greatly differ from that of their Bantu neighbours.

Malan is trying to segregate the Asian from the African, but his over-all policy of subjugating the non-European (and even of making life in South Africa impossible for the Indian) unites non-Europeans in spite of his intentions.

In his attitude to Indians Malan is, if possible, excelled by the English "Jingoes" of Natal, who combine a pious horror of the Government's attitude to the Cape Coloured people—so far away from Durban—with a vicious and undisguised hatred of Indians.

In such an atmosphere the prospects of Indo-African unity are very hopeful.

## WAITING FOR A SCHOOL



The yearly average income in Bolivia, \$55 per head, is lower than that of India.

For a population of four million there are 2,000 schools and three Universities.

These Bolivian children study outdoors while awaiting the completion of a new school building.

—Unations

purchasing power of urban consumers and, incidentally, also leaving a smaller margin for buying imported goods.

It appears unavoidable that raw material exporting countries will have to reduce exports to the US because the scaling down of the rearmament programme reduces demand. Although the cutting of taxes by \$4,900 million will increase the spending power of high income earners, it does not follow that they will buy more imported goods, as savings may increase.

Should prices continue to decline then new investment and employment will fall further in 1954.

If the US reduces imports from Britain and other W. European countries, then the "\$ problem" will reappear.

### NATIONAL INCOME IN "BACKWARD AREAS," 1949

Continent	Pop. in milns.	Yearly Average Income per head in \$	Total Income in \$ milli.	Percent. of World Total
Asia	1,254	47	58,000	101
Africa	198	70	14,000	21
S. America	108	166	18,000	31
SELECTED COUNTRIES:				
Asia:				
India	346	57	19,572	31
Pakistan	74	51	3,760	0.7
Indonesia	79	25	2,000	0.4
Thailand	6	40	240	—
Philippines	19	44	850	—
Africa:				
Egypt	20	100	1,990	0.4
Ethiopia	15	38	570	—
America:				
Bolivia	4	55	221	—
Brazil	49	112	5,530	1
Haiti	3.7	40	150	—

SOURCE: UN Statistical Papers, Series E/1 and E/3.  
NOTE: The above figures are more appropriate for comparing levels of production than levels of living standards. No precise comparison is possible regarding "welfare" or living standards between countries, as natural and social environment show great variety.

## PERFECTIONISM AND PACIFISM

By Oswell Blakeston

ONE notices that as certain pacifists grow older they tend to become cynical or perfectionists, and perfectionists are inclined to suggest that as we still experience impulses to aggression in private life, we have no reason to think of ourselves as pacifists. Yet this, surely, is just the reason why we must think of ourselves as pacifists.

It seems to me that it would be as simple for the perfectionists to say that no one can call himself a Christian if he is still in danger of falling into sin. Whereas, I imagine, the Christian argument would be that it is because man is always in danger of temptation that he needs to call himself a Christian.

Incidentally, one might say that it's a good thing that the military philosophers are not so absolute as our perfectionists. It would indeed be tiring if those who believe in violence felt they'd betrayed their faith if they did not settle every social tiff with a sword or a fire-arm.

I do not believe that pacifists must be saints in order to think of themselves as pacifists. The act of being a pacifist is quite simply the moral act of drawing a line, of saying that however much we are provoked by the existence of another we will not kill him in order to get our own way. By drawing that line, the pacifist establishes himself. The rest

NEXT PAGE



# Talking of books...

By Robert Greacen

**Our Day of Empire**, by Louis Obed Renne. Strickland Press, Glasgow, 5s. or 51.  
**The Case of the Legless Veteran**, by James Kutcher. New Park Publications, 4s.  
**Encounter**, No. 5, February, 1954. Secker and Warburg, 2s. 6d.

MR. RENNE'S avowed object in this paper-bound volume is "to recount the evils of war and imperialism, in particular as these affect American Democracy." He briefly surveys almost the entire period of American history from the War of Independence down to the Second World War. Fifteen chapters are devoted to a discussion of the treatment of Japanese Americans during the last war.



ALDOUS HUXLEY

The author is an ardent Christian pacifist who has thought profoundly and for many years on the nature of War and the tensions in society that give rise to it. His book shows us the worse side of American official thinking; but it serves also to remind us that there is still hope so long as Americans like Mr. Renne are allowed to speak out. Mr. Renne quotes his fellow-countryman the poet Lowell (1819-1891), who summed up the situation very neatly in the vernacular:

*We kind o' thought Christ went agin war an' pillage.*

## Three catastrophes

James Kutcher writes in **THE CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN** that his life has been shaped by three catastrophes: the Depression of the Thirties, the Second World War and the Cold War. During the Depression period he became a Socialist. Drafted into the American Army, he was so badly injured in the battle of San Pietro that both his legs had to be amputated. Fitted out with artificial limbs by a grateful Uncle Sam, he later got a job in the Veterans' Administration—a Government organisation that looks after the general welfare of US servicemen.

After two years of this work—his first secure civilian job—the blow fell, and he was dismissed under President Truman's "Loyalty" programme, because of his admitted membership of the Socialist Workers Party, a Party included in the Attorney General's subversive black-list. This splinter group appears to be mainly Trotskyist in inspiration and believes in the use of force, in certain circumstances, to gain workers' control and establish a Socialist regime; it is bitterly opposed to the Communist Party.

Here Mr. Kutcher tells of his numerous appearances before Loyalty boards, his lawsuits in Federal Courts and the campaign for

his reinstatement, largely initiated and sustained by the Socialist Workers' Party. The CP was the only organisation that attacked his efforts to get his job back. Nevertheless, Mr. Kutcher on principle remains convinced that Communists (equally with COs and others) ought not to be persecuted for their convictions.

At this distance it would be foolhardy for a non-specialist in US internal affairs to

form a very definite attitude on the James Kutcher affair. Whatever the merits of the individual case, however, one must support any man's right to hold any political views he pleases without state pressure or victimisation. Apart from anything else, one can learn much from this account about American minority politics. Here is part of the author's explanation of the purpose behind the witch-hunt:

## Near-hysteria

"... to intimidate everyone who is opposed to war and the evils that accompany war, to silence every voice that questions or proposes another course, to isolate every group that can supply answers to the people's aspirations for peace and prosperity."

Mr. Kutcher may, of course, be mistaken in believing that the witch-hunt is a wholly deliberate political manoeuvre; it does not seem possible to isolate it from the psychological climate of near-hysteria in which it thrives.

## Intellectuals

**ENCOUNTER** for February is the fifth issue of a monthly magazine devoted to literature, the arts and politics, and sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom whose supporters include various men of intellectual distinction such as Bertrand Russell, Jacques Maritain, Reinhold Niebuhr and Salvador de Madariaga.

Aldous Huxley's essay, "Faith, Taste and History," is a reflective piece on Mormonism, illustrated by a number of photos taken in the Mecca of the sect, Salt Lake City, Utah. Mr. Huxley's digressions, pleasant and acute as they are, reveal his characteristic width of knowledge without the least hint of pedantry.

# Letters to the Editor

## Korean prisoners

I WAS grateful for Mr. H. D. Bryan's reply to my article entitled "Korea's unwilling Repatriates," for it brought out evidence available after the prisoners were handed over.

During their residence in the detaining camps in the Neutral Zone the prisoners were a constant source of anxiety. Almost daily, ugly incidents, often very threatening and dangerous ones, were dealt with in non-violent ways which were "astonishingly successful." Only to this limited field did my remarks apply.

That the UN High Command has been tricked into sending thousands of most unfortunate men to be again recruited into the South Korean or the Chinese Nationalist armies is deplorable.

But, terrible as it has proved to be for numbers of the prisoners, the Indian decision to hand them back to the detaining sides was, in my opinion, the only possible one in the circumstances.

EDITH M. ADLAM.

82 St. Thomas St., Wells.

## Are you paired off?

I SHOULD like to see a much greater degree of individual effort on the part of Peace News readers to build war-resistance on an international basis as well as amongst our own contacts at home.

To this end I urge all readers to correspond regularly with one or preferably more people in other parts of the world. Young people particularly can undertake this form of work, as it is generally the youth who are most difficult to reach with the anti-war message.

Friendships formed in this way between non-pacifists generally make it more difficult

for them to support a war in which they may have to fight each other. Correspondence between war-resisters strengthens their resolve to continue their work, and correspondence with non-pacifists can help spread the movement since individual argument can carry more conviction than the printed word.

I should like to see a campaign organised under the slogan: "Are you paired off?"—i.e., with someone in another part of the world in your dual resolve to resist war.

EDWARD CORBY.

139 Beverstone Rd., Thornton Heath.

## Against inoculation

I HAVE no doubt of the sincerity of those in the World Health Organisation who administer inoculations to the needy (PN February 5).

Let us not forget, however, that the manufacture of substances for inoculation involves terrible suffering to living animals, and that the practice of inoculating has its dangers and failures resulting, as it does, not only in certain reactions, but death in a number of cases.

Recent smallpox outbreaks in England have been started by thoroughly vaccinated seamen from India. So long as poverty and filth exist in certain parts of the world so long will smallpox, despite vaccination.

The British Union for the Abolition of Vaccination and the National Anti-Vaccination League are trying to bring these little publicised facts to the public. Contaminating our life blood by injecting harmful substances into it is a poor substitute for removing the causes of disease.

AVERIL VERDEN.

Tall Trees School, Highview, Pinner.

# PERFECTIONISM and PACIFISM

From page four

is—the mission of the individual.

For many of us our mission is simply to be a human being. More than that would be to commit acts of violence on ourselves. Each of us must work for peace in his own way, and that way may be no more, and no less, than saying "I have drawn this line in order to encourage you to do the same."

Such an approach links pacifism to life. It is the perfectionists who would divorce pacifism from life, who make it possible for young men at the Tribunal to feel ashamed when they cannot answer one of the "What-would-you-do-if" questions.

As ordinary citizens we do not blame a man if he cannot outline a brilliant programme of what he would do to save his country if there was a cosmic earthquake in the next three minutes. It is enough to know that a man does not stock up barns of hay to feed the infernal fires when hell does break loose. Saviours, if one is being realistic, are exceptional cases. An ordinary citizen need not feel ashamed if he has no mission to be a saviour.

It is one's duty to draw the line. The rest is a question of glandular make-up, talent and opportunity.

The ordinary pacifist, like the ordinary Christian, may fall into venial sin many times during the day; but it should not shake his pacifism. We have had enough of guilt: the world is waiting for compassion and forgiveness. The pacifist must learn to forgive himself, for the finality of pacifism is inner peace.

And those who have a mission to be more and do more must fulfil that mission in order to find inner content. But each soul has his own way.

Does such an individual approach seem a counsel of despair in an age of centralisation? Is this what is needed when so many hold that pacifists must become "a really disciplined party"?

The "disciplined party" idea is just one more illustration of the insidiousness of the contemporary propaganda which aims to reduce people to statistics. The pacifist draws his line precisely to show that individuals count and that the individual should rejoice if he has to act alone for in that way, if in no other, he is giving witness to his faith.

However, let us take this argument on its own level. One might say that the "disciplined party" is something which can be labelled and, therefore, easily dealt with by those who oppose it. It is in no way such a trouble to the thought-police as people who hold a common belief yet insist on behaving as individuals. The unpredictable element in individual protest makes it far harder for the statistically minded to control or suppress.

If every pacifist follows his own mission, in his own way, his individual action will be of immense political importance. Such behaviour may help us to end this epoch of mob-slogans and party-lines; and it will lead us to the time when the perfectionism of today is humanity's lowest common denominator from which many will rise to follow their own intensified missions.

# DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

## Friday, February 19

EXETER: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho. Public Mtg. Stuart Morris. PPU.  
 LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Central London PPU Group Policy Meeting. PPU.

## Saturday, February 20

LIVERPOOL: 3 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Hunter St. Area AGM of PPU. 4.30 p.m. Dr. Alan Litherland, "Toldas Peace Plan." Tea 1s. 6d. PPU.  
 PLYMOUTH: 3 p.m.; Area Meeting PPU. Swarthmore Hall, Mutley Plain, Stuart Morris. "The PPU in 1954." Tea. PPU.

## Sunday, February 21

LONDON, N.2: 11.15 a.m.; 15 Lymouth Rd. Discussion on future plans. Non-Violent Resistance Group.  
 LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m.; Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (nr. Holland Park Stn.). Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse: Vilayat. "The Practice of Brotherhood." PPU Religion Commission.  
 PLYMOUTH: 2.30 p.m.; Swarthmore Hall, Mutley Plain, Stuart Morris. Public Meeting. PPU. 6.30 p.m. Stuart Morris. Friends' Home Service Ctte.

## Monday, February 22

NOTTINGHAM: 7.30 p.m.; YWCA Hall, Shakespeare St. Public Mtg. Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven, Miss Edith Adlam, "The Christian's alternative to war." FOR.

## Tuesday, February 23

CARDIFF: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Ho., Charles St. Stuart Morris, "Peacemaking in the USA." Cardiff Peace Group.  
 COLCHESTER: 7 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho. Hugh Faulkner, "Talking peace in Russia and America." FOR.

LONDON, S.E.23: 8 p.m.; 10 Perry Rise, Forest Hill (nr. Fire Stn.). Buses 124, 194. Group mtg. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Area mtg. All London members welcome. Discussion of AGM Agenda. PPU.

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Doanagat Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.  
 MANSFIELD: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Quaker Lane. Public Mtg. Canon C. E. Raven. Chair. Rev. G. D. Needham. Mansfield Peace Group.

## Wednesday, February 24

LONDON, N.4: 8 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group mtg. 3 Blackstock Rd., Finsbury PK.  
 HERBORNE: 7.30 p.m.; West Dorset For Area Mtg. "Bexley," Kings Rd. FOR.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

## MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 7 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

## Thursday, February 25

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Phil Rickard, "The place of force in modern society." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.; Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air meeting. Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman. PPU.

OXFORD: 7.30 p.m.; 42 Bowness Ave. Bus No. 8. Newton Garver, "Challenge of the Hour." PPU.

## Friday, February 26

CAMBRIDGE: 8.15 p.m.; Public Mtg. The Union Hall, Victor Gollancz, "Peace." Chair. Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven, DD. FOR.

DERBY: 7.30 p.m.; Temperance Ho., 110 Osmaston Rd. Gen. Mtg. Election of officers, etc. PPU.

EALING: 8 p.m.; 13 Florence Rd. Tom Wardle, "The Politics of Peace." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Robert Horniman, "Pacifism and Socialism." PPU.

WANDSWORTH: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., 59 Wandsworth High St. Agatha Harrison, "Some Impressions of the United Nations Assembly." SoF.

## Saturday, February 27

LANCASTER: 3 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., adj. Castle Stn. Lakeland Area PPU Quarterly Mtg. Stuart Morris, "Ellis Island—and Beyond."

LEEDS: 3 p.m.; Carlton Hill Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane (behind BRC). Yorkshire Area Peace Pledge Union AGM. Bring sandwiches, tea provided.

LONDON, N.1: 7.30 p.m.; Hoxton Hall, 128a Hoxton St. Formation of new For Group for Shoreditch and Bethnal Green districts. Speaker, Rev. Ernest Dawe. All welcome. Enquiries to Jack Gale, 22 Barnett Grove, E.2.

## Sunday, February 28

CARLISLE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Fisher St. Stuart Morris. PPU.  
 LONDON, N.2: 8 p.m.; 10 Summerlee Gdns. Tom Wardle, "The Challenge of Africa." Labour Peace Fellowship.

# CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

## ACCOMMODATION WANTED AND OFFERED

ACTIVE PACIFIST, wife, child, seek ground-floor flat, London. Box No. 535.

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## LITERATURE

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PEACELOVERS should read Richard Whittell's "Eternal Moment," 2s. 8d., post free, from BCM/Blueprint Press, London, W.C.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

THE CONSUMMATION OF THE AGE. A study in Biblical prophecy with special relation to war. By Hector Waylen. Price 1s. Obtainable from H. Waylen, 38 Harcourt Terr., London, S.W.10. Post free 1s. 2d.

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JUNIOR LADY CLERK wanted for For office. Some typing required. Opportunities for advancement. Applications to the General Secretary, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.



## Open letter to the News Chronicle

● From page One

importance of the issue, it was not an unduly long letter.

I am an old editor, and know editors' difficulties. If you had contacted me at the House of Commons I would readily have agreed to condense it.

But what you did was to mutilate it, and publish it under the headline "Why I go on bleating," and add a footnote in which you replied to the version which you had revised yourself.

You cut out the Churchill quotation in which the Prime Minister, when in opposition had uttered his grave warning, namely, about the danger which this country was incurring as a result of the Americans coming here.

You cut out my quotation from the Select Committee on Estimates which described what would happen to London if an atom bomb were dropped.

You suppressed my question in which I asked why we were safer as a result of the Americans being here—we were spending eight times more on civil defence than before they arrived.

When I pointed out that there were other secondary considerations such as those dealt with by Lord Chief Justice Goddard and

which are causing concern to the magistrates in the areas where the Americans are placed, you suppressed that too.

You ended your footnote by asking me two questions in these words:

"The real question which Mr. Hughes and his friends have to answer is whether or not they want to tear up the North Atlantic Treaty. Do they believe that to do this would reduce the risk?"

I thought these questions were asked in order that they should be answered.

### In favour of neutrality

I replied to them in a brief letter because if I had ignored them readers of the News Chronicle would assume that I was evading the issue.

I gave clear concise answers.

I am in favour of ending the Atlantic Treaty because its implications involve this country in great danger. I said that I was in favour of Britain remaining neutral and of a policy which would make for a neutral Western Europe.

I pointed out that a great French newspaper, Le Monde, was in favour of neutrality for France and asked why the liberal News Chronicle should be opposed to a policy of neutrality for Britain.

I added a postscript saying that my letter was not a bleat but a challenge.

### Distortion and suppression

Several days have elapsed, and as I write you have not published my replies to the questions you yourselves asked.

Peace News is not a paper with a huge circulation, but its readers take a keen interest in foreign affairs, and many of them are readers of the News Chronicle.

Like myself, they are wondering what has happened to what they regarded as an independent-minded paper, prepared to deal honestly and courageously with national and international issues. Some of them remember how enlightened the Daily News was in the days of H. W. Massingham and A. G. Gardiner.

Why does it distort and suppress criticisms of a policy which involves great dangers and brings grave social problems to this country.

Yours faithfully,  
EMRYS HUGHES.

House of Commons, February 16, 1954,

### Came to work too early

#### —saved Peace News premises

HERMANN BRINKMAN, German-born Peace News voluntary worker, mistook the time one morning last week and arrived at the Peace News offices an hour too soon, at 7 a.m. instead of 8 a.m.

Entering the building he found the walls smouldering from heated electric wires short-circuited by water from a burst pipe.

He was told later by a fireman that his prompt action in calling the brigade averted a serious fire.

### NEXT WEEK

The many reports and letters held over from this week's Peace News will appear in an enlarged eight-page issue, out next Friday. Extra copies for free distribution 2s. 6d. a doz. post free from 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

## "Preparation for war perpetuates war" —EX-ARMY CADET

THE Wales Conscientious Objectors Tribunal which met in Cardiff on February 11, unconditionally registered a 23-year-old artist who submitted a lengthy statement abhorring the use of violence for ethical reasons.

The applicant was Robert Jaffrey Eric Pickering, of Duckpool Road, Newport, Mon., who told the court that as an artist leading a creative life it was impossible for him to feel anything but nauseating disgust for destruction.

"I believe that the demands of conscience are always stronger than those of the state," his statement read, and he queried the right of the Government to demand that a person should carry out actions which were unethical.

At the age of 13 the applicant joined the Army Cadet Force and served in it for five years. He was enthusiastic about it and trained earnestly to become an efficient soldier. At the age of 17, however, he took up Art and his views changed.

"I had renounced religion at the age of 14," Pickering said, "but I am now coming back to it—not to the Church but to its moral teachings."

He went on to say that he did not base his plea on pacifism of an emotional nature, despite his abhorrence of violence, but rather on ethical pacifism, and this belief had been arrived at after rational consideration of violence.

"If you show no man ill will, he cannot hate you and by destroying that hate you have done good" he went on. "Good cannot be attained by evil means, the way always effects the end. You will not destroy violence by the superior use of violence."

## Sir John Slessor and "humane" bombing

Search in all good faith for some "new look" about Soviet policy has disclosed only the old glare of hostility and suspicion. —Daily Telegraph, February 15, 1954.

An extension of the Brussels Treaty between Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg could be designed... Britain and the United States should attach a protocol to their signatures. This should contain a solemn undertaking that, in the event of aggression, the aggressor should be subjected to the full weight of Anglo-American air power, using the atom, and in due course, the hydrogen bomb.

—Air Marshal Sir John Slessor, February 14, 1954.

ONCE again Air Marshal Sir John Slessor "comes on the air" to advocate that the Western Powers put their trust in atomic weapons.

Since no one is "put up" to answer, there seems reason to suppose that his statements carry the weight of an official view, which is, that there is "not the smallest chance of agreement with the Communists by normal civilised methods," and he goes on to proclaim an outworn, and fatal belief in methods of violence being the only thing that certain types of nations can understand.

It was a common saying in India when I was there that the only thing the "native" understood was a good kick. Indian servants, therefore, were often kicked, under the mistaken impression, apparently, that they were impervious to the ordinary feelings of resentment which any Britisher would have had in similar circumstances. It is tragic that this idea should also be the basis of our relationship with Russia.

Having made it clear that bombing is the answer to all problems, Slessor then goes on to let us know that he does not "envisage our bomber fleets taking off at the drop of the hat to slaughter millions of defenceless civilians by atom bombing their cities." Oh! no, nothing like that! We should use instead the "infallible method" known as air-control which, he says, "the RAF exercised humanely and effectively on the Indian frontiers in the years between the wars."

This "infallible method" was "to interrupt the normal life of the enemy people to such an extent that the continuation of hostilities becomes intolerable." It would be interesting to know, if it were possible to gather it from this monstrous farrago of meaningless words, how bombing planes interfere with normal civilian life other than by dropping bombs.

The method in fact used on the Afghan villages across the frontier of Britain's India was to warn the inhabitants by dropping leaflets 24 hours in advance of the raid. Whether it was really believed that everyone immediately and quietly, without panic, left their homes and went off somewhere else, is hard to know, but this is what was alleged by the authorities.

It was never recorded where they went, nor what happened to them after the raid in which their huts, and even worse, their walls, were destroyed. Without water, or shelter in a climate of fierce extremes many of them probably died, particularly babies and small children.

If this "humane" plan were followed on a

large scale, what in fact would it mean? If London were warned to evacuate because hydrogen bombs were about to be dropped what practical scheme for the removal of some eight million people could possibly be devised? Moreover, is it likely that London would instantly surrender?

The idea that a threat of this kind to Moscow would mean immediate capitulation reveals a naïveté, if not something worse, which is as dangerous as raving lunacy. It seems to be entirely overlooked that the Afghans could not retaliate in kind, and it should also be remembered that their forays across the border were even more ferocious after these so-called "punitive raids" than before.

The Daily Telegraph when it looks vainly for a friendly glance from Russia makes no allowance for the effect such broadcasts as Sir John Slessor's may have upon the Soviet Union. Proposals for signing a treaty to use weapons of mass destruction are scarcely calculated to allay suspicion or to ease tension.

The Russians, not being mentally defective, are perfectly able to recognise that fantasies about "humane" bombing bear no relation to facts and are nothing but specious propaganda, designed to justify the stockpiling by the Western Powers of atomic weapons.

Let the West abandon threats, abolish these terrible and appalling weapons, and then try again at the negotiating table; that would indeed be a "civilised" and "normal" method in which a "normal civilised" end might be achieved.

### PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday February 21

Studio, 29 Addison Ave., London W.11  
(Near Holland Park Stn.)

Discourse by Vilayat

"The Practice of Brotherhood."

### London Area Peace Pledge Union

#### WEEK END SCHOOL

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VICTOR YATES MP, on

### Parliament and Conscription

at the

Annual General Meeting

of the

No Conscription Council

HOPE HALL, GT. PETER ST., LONDON S.W.1

Wednesday February 24

Chairman: Lord Faringdon

Reports 6.30

Victor Yates 7.30

followed by discussion

All invited

### PEACE PLEDGE UNION Election of National Chairman

Fred Barton, Leonard Bird, Hugh Brock, John Burnet and Trevor Rendall Davies have all been duly nominated for election as National Chairman.

Group Secretaries who have not already done so, are asked to make immediate application for a sufficient number of Ballot Papers for their members.

Individual members can obtain a Ballot Paper by application to me accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope.

The closing date of the election has been postponed until March 15th to give every member the opportunity of voting.

STUART MORRIS,  
Returning Officer.

Dick Sheppard House,  
Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

### I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.  
Send YOUR Pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

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**KENYA STORY**  
(Sketch by David Larder)

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7.30 p.m. 20th February - - - - Friends House

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Also EXHIBITION AND BAZAAR of DIFFERENT COUNTRIES  
(10. a.m. to 6 p.m.)

Tickets 1/6 from British Youth Festival Committee 9, Camden High St., N.W.1